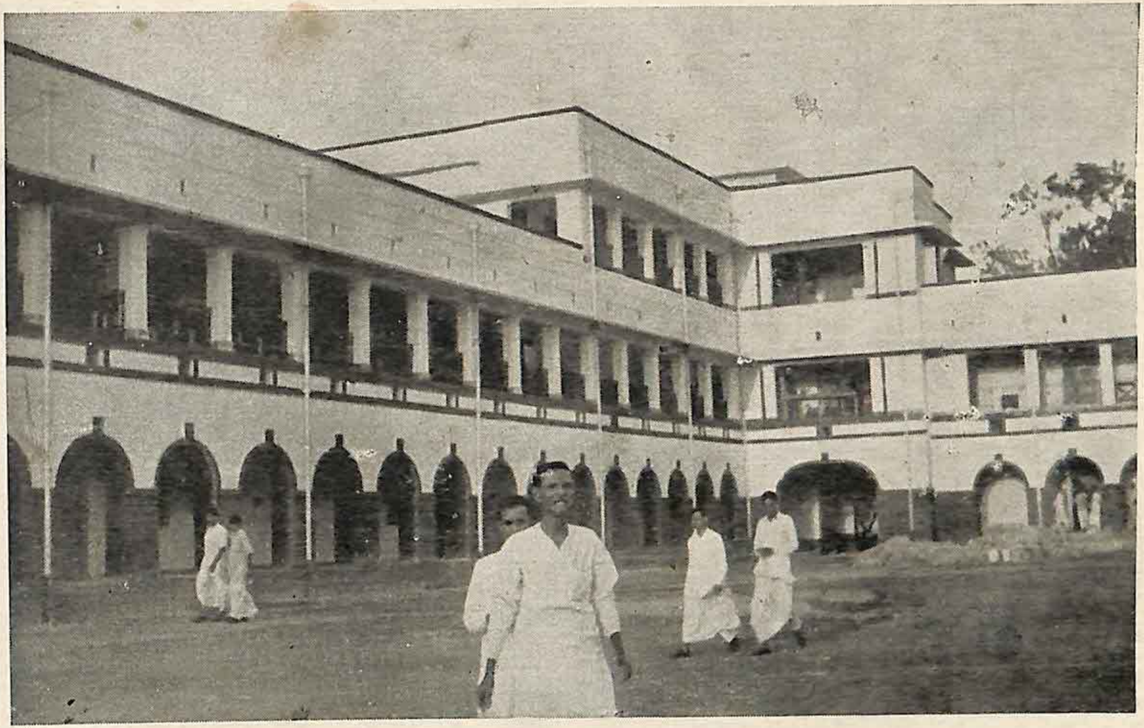
WEEK-END COURSE IN HISTORY (ELECTIVE)

A Report

Department of Extension Services
David Hare Training College
CALCUTTA



Extension Service Department, David Hare Training College.

Introduction

Under the auspices of the Extension Service Department, David Hare Training College, Calcutta one Week-End Course in History (Elective) was organised for the benefit of the teachers of Secondary Schools of the city of Calcutta and its suburbs. The Course was conducted by Sri J. Sen of the Department of History, University of Calcutta and Sri A. Datta, Dean, College of Arts, Jadavpur University. Classes were held on every Saturday from August, 1959 to February, 1960. A series of lectures was delivered by both Sri Sen and Sri Datta in the above course. The lectures were followed by discussion in which all the teachers present in the class participated. The teachers in course of their discussion pointed out various problems faced by them in class-room teaching and very useful suggestions towards the solution of the problems were offered by the learned professors. The topics chosen for lecture-cum-discussion were selected at the suggestion of the participating teachers. A synopsis of the talks given by the two resource persons is given in the following pages.

A synopsis of the talks given by Prof. J. Sen, Department of History, Calcutta University.

An outline of international relations since 1871

I. Europe in 1871

The Franco-Prussian War, breaking out in July 1870, was concluded in May 1871 by the Treaty of Frankfort. France lost Alsace-Lorraine to Germany and had to pay a heavy war indemnity ; she was to support a German army of occupation to be gradually withdrawn as the instalments of indemnity were paid. As a consequence of, and during the war, the Second French Empire of Napoleon III collapsed and France was proclaimed a republic.

The war created the German Empire. The South German States had held aloof from the North German Confederation under Prussia after 1866. Prussian success against France led the South German States (Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden etc.) to enter the North German Confederation, and during the middle of the Franco-Prussion War the Prussian King William I was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (January, 1871).

Italy in 1870 also became a united kingdom. The French army in Rome was withdrawn on the eve of the war, a Sardinian force entered the city and King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia became King of Italy. Rome became the capital of the new kingdom.

Austria was excluded from Germany, and after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 the compromise of 1867 created a dual monarchy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire with a numerically predominant non-German population, and therefore, drifting towards south-east Europe.

Russia, during the Franco-Prussian War, with Bismarck's connivance violated the neutrality clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856) by re-erecting fortifications on the Black Sea coast and maintaining a Russian fleet in the Black Sea.

England, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, had the Belgian Neutrality Treaty of 1839 confirmed by the Powers concerned (including Germany), and during the war kept aloof, thus isolating France and helping thereby the Prussian cause.

2. Germany, the dominant power : Bismarck

France fell from her position of pre-emenince in Europe, and the centre of political gravity shifted from Paris to Berlin. German predominance in Europe began, lasting till the outbreak of the first World War, and Bismarck the German Chancellor became the central figure in European Politics.

After the Franco-Prussian War which completed German unification, Bismarck gave up his policy of 'blood & iron'. According to him, Germany was now a 'satiated' Power. No more war was necessary : what was required was peace without and consolidation within.

But Bismarck felt afraid of a French war of revenge. During the negotiations for a treaty of peace with France after the war of 1870-1, he was overruled by the German generals who wanted a scientific, defensible frontier. Hence France lost Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Unable to forget this loss, France under the Third Republic shaped her internal policy and external relations with an eye to the recovery of the lost provinces. The Alsace-Lorraine problem, in fact, remained an open sore in the French body-politic and moulded Franco-German relations till the outbreak of the First World War. Hence Bismarck's fear of France.

In order to prevent a French war of revenge, Bismarck adopted a two-fold policy : (a) a diplomatic isolation of

France and (b) the consolidation of the German power by a net-work of alliances on the European continent.

(a) France, defeated and weakened by the War of 1870-1, was in no position to wage a fresh war for the recovery of the lost provinces. Bismarck realised that without allies France would be no match for Germany. Hence his policy after 1871 was to keep France without an ally in Europe. To this end he helped Thiers, President of the Third French Republic, in maintaining the republican Government against the monarchists, believing that republican France would fail to secure the friendship and support of monarchical powers in Europe. Russia, helped by Bismarck in crushing the Polish revolt of 1863, was on friendly terms with Germany. England's quarrel with France over the control of Egypt was growing and Bismarck's policy was to keep alive this Anglo-French tension. Bismarck also encouraged the colonial ambitions of France in North Africa, thus bringing her into conflict with Italy which feared a French annexation of Tunis. Moreover, Austrian foreign policy came under Bismarck's control. Austria, suspicious of French designs on the South German States on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, began to drift away from France, and inspired by Bismarck, followed a policy in the Balkans which ran counter to Anglo-French designs.

Bismarck not only tried to bring about an isolation of France in Europe, he also tried, in the interest of German security, to prevent the other European Powers from combining. Just as the Anglo-French quarrel over Egypt was fomented, Anglo-Russian tension in the Balkans, Persia, Afganistan and Tibet was exploited to prevent any combination against Germany.

Bismarck's treaty system : the Triple Alliance

(b) A consolidation of the newly-founded German Empire by a system of alliances was the positive or constructive

side of Bismarck's policy after 1871. In 1872 a League of Three Emperors (the German Kaiser, the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar) was formed. Events in the Balkans between 1875 and 1878 and the Treaty of Berlin (1878) gave a violent shock to this alliance and Russia was gradually alienated from Germany. But the understanding among these three Powers was restored in 1881, and it lasted till 1887 when it was replaced by a Re-insurance Treaty between Germany and Russia.

Relations between Germany and Russia began to cool due to the "war scare" of 1875 and developments in the Balkans. Suspecting that France, on the strength of a remodelled army, was going to wage a war of revenge upon Germany for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, Bismarck was alleged to have contemplated a "preventive war" against France. This was the substance of the "war scare of 1875". Gorchakov, Russian foreign minister, prevailed upon Bismarck to drop the idea of war.

An estrangement between Germany and Russia in consequence began, which was widened by events in the Balkans between 1875 and 1878. Disregarding proposals for a settlement from European Powers, Russia waged a war against Turkey and imposed upon Turkey the Treaty of San Stefano (1878). This treaty was not accepted by the Powers who met in the Congress of Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck and revised the Treaty of San Stefano to the disadvantage and humiliation of Russia. In this conference Bismarck realised that it was no longer possible to prevent Austria and Russia from quarrelling in the Balkans, and he had to make the reluctant choice of Austria as the one steadfast and dependable ally of Germany, putting an end thereby to the League of three Emperors.

Next came the Secret Treaty of Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria in 1879 which remained the pivot of the Bismarckian system of alliances and the very foundation of

German policy till the outbreak of the War of 1914. The terms were aimed against Russia and kept secret till 1881 when they had to be disclosed in order to win over Russia again to an understanding with Germany.

The Austro-German alliance of 1879 was supplemented in 1882 by the inclusion of Italy, and thus was formed the Triple Alliance which was regularly renewed till 1915 when Italy broke off and joined the Triple Entente of England, France and Russia. Italy's motives in joining the Austro-German alliance were mixed. The process of Italian unification which ended in 1870 had left certain areas (e. g., Istria and Dalmatia) on the Adriatic coast outside the Italian kingdom. An agitation in consequance began for a recovery of these areas without which Italian national unification was regarded as incomplete. This agitation for the recovery of "Italia Irredenta" or "unredeemed Italy" was directed mainly against Austria which was in occupation of those areas. But war against Austria was impossible. The Italian object, on the other hand, could be achieved by negotiation and persuasion, and this was possible if Italy joined the Austro-German system. The immediate reason was the French occupation of Tunis (1881) which Italy had all along coveted. Bismarck's encouragement of French colonial designs led to this Franco-Italian tension over Tunis, and Italy in consequence was won over to the Austro-German system.

Bismarck's treaty system was completed in 1887 when the Alliance of three Emperors was replaced by Re-insurance Treaty between Germany and Russia. If Austria and Russia could not get on well together, Germany and Russia might remain friends. Bismarck's fear was that if Russia left the German alliance she would inevitably draw towards France, and a Franco-Russian alliance would mean the end of the security system and a fresh Franco-German war over Alsace-Lorraine. The Re-insurance Treaty, however, was not renewed on Bismarck's fall (1890).

Bismarck's attitude towards England was cautious and on the whole friendly. His main desire was to prevent a conflict between England and Germany so that England might not join either France or Russia. According to him, German supremacy in Europe was perfectly compatible with British supremacy on the seas. There need not be any quarrel between a 'land rat' and a 'sea rat'. For this reason he was opposed to any German colonial scheme, lest it might create an Anglo-German conflict beyond the seas. But Bismarck also wanted an alliance with England. Proposals for an alliance were made again and again. Bismarck wanted a secret treaty with England, between Government and Government without reference to Parliament. But the British Government was opposed to any secret treaty. In a parliamentary democracy negotiations for a settlement or treaty may be conducted by the Government without reference to Parliament ; but the final ratification must rest with Parliament. Hence Bismarck failed to win over England to his net-work of alliances.

3. International Relations in the Balkans (1871-1914)

A. *The situation in the Balkans in 1875*

The Turkish Empire in Europe, declining since the latter part of the 17th century, comprised only the Balkan provinces in the beginning of the 19th century. And of these, Greece became independent of Turkey in 1829. The Balkan people, mostly Slavs and belonging to the Greek orthodox form of Christianity (with the exception of the Rumanians who professed Roman Catholicism), were persecuted by the Sultan of Turkey, and their cause was supported by Russia having racial and religious affinity with the Balkan Slavs. Russia's real motive was to break up the Turkish Empire in Europe and obtain control of Constantinople and the Straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Hence Russia proposed to England in 1853 that as Turkey was "a sick man", it would be advisable for them, the two

Powers most interested in the question, to agree to a partition of the Turkish provinces in Europe before the Empire actually collapsed. But England rejected the proposal, since British policy was to strengthen Turkey in order that the Empire of the Sultan might act as a barrier against Russian advance towards the East, endangering British trade-routes and the British Empire in India.

Hence in the Crimean War which broke out in 1854, England joined France in support of Turkey against Russia. Russia was defeated and Turkey retained control of her European possessions and the support of the Western Powers on condition that she would reform her administration and cease to persecute her Christian subjects. This condition was not fulfilled and the growing misrule and Christian persecution led to a revolt of the peasants in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875.

B. The Russo-Turkish War (1877-8): the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin (1878)

The Bosnian revolt of 1875 rapidly spread to Serbia and and Bulgaria, and the Sultan resorted to enormous cruelties in suppressing the revolt. Russia wanted to intervene in support of the Balkan Slavs, free them from the Turkish yoke, and acquire Constantinople for herself. The European Powers regarded the Eastern Question as a European question. Any solution therefore was to have the approval of the Powers. But no agreement among the Powers was reached, and Russia moved alone in the matter. Hence broke out the Russo-Turkish War in 1877. Russian forces made a rapid march suthward and after an exhausting siege of Plevna proceeded towards Constantinople. The war was ended by the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) which recognised the independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro and set up an autonomous state of Bulgaria stretching from Rumania and Serbia in the north to Greece in the south, nominally under Turkish rule but actually under Russian control.

The treaty was short-lived. Neither the Balkan nationalities (except Bulgars) nor the European Powers found it acceptable. The increase of Russian power in the Near East was looked upon with alarm by England, France and Austria. Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, revived the anti-Russian & pro-Turkish feelings in England, exerted diplomatic pressure upon Russia backed by the despatch of troops from India to Malta, and compelled Russia to reopen the Eastern Question before a European Congress.

Hence the Congress of Berlin and the Treaty of Berlin (1878). Russia retained Bessarabia, Kars and Batoum on the Black Sea coast ; the independence of Rumania, Serbia and Monetenegro was affirmed ; but the Big Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano was cut up into three parts, Bulgaria proper, north of the Balkan mountains, as an autonomous state nominally subject to Turkey to be ruled by an elected prince, Eastern Rumelia south of the Balkans, also autonomous but ruled by a prince to be nominated by the Sultan, and Maedonia, a long narrow strip between the Aegean and the Adriatic under the direct rule of the Sultan. Besides, Austria obtained the right to occupy and administer Bosnia-Herzegovina under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, and England, by a separate convention obtained control over Cyprus in the Mediterranean.

C. The Balkan problem after 1878 : the Bosnian Annexation Crisis of 1908.

The Treaty of Berlin gave a new turn to Russian policy. Humiliated and deprived of access to Constantinople and the Straits, Russia temporarily gave up her Near Eastern ambitions and started her career of expansion eastward. Siberia was rapidly opened up, the Far East Pacific coast was reached, the Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed and taking advantage of Chinese decline and defeat at the hands of Japan in the war of 1894-5, she began her infiltration into Manchuria in order eventually to acquire Port Arthur, an ice-free port on the

Pacific. A lease of Port Arthur was even obtained from China ; but this was the begining of a tension between Russia and Japan which developed into the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Russia was defeated, and this defeat not only reacted on Russia's internal history, it also compelled her to revive her Balkan ambitions and once more Russia set her eyes on Constantinople and the Straits.

Next occurred the Young Turk Revolution in Constantinople in July, 1908. The despotism of Sultan Abdul Hamid II was overthrown ; a liberal and democratic government on Western lines was set up and there was for a moment jubilation and fraternisation of races all over the Turkish Empire. This movement, however, alarmed the Balkan nationalities and the European powers. It was felt that a yonng, rejuvenated Turkish Empire would tighten its hold over the subject races and even try to recover those portions which had been lost during the inefficient and oppressive Hamidian regime. The Balkan States which had become independent and were dreaming of expansion at the expense of Macedonia which remained in Turkish hands after the Berlin Settlement felt their way blocked ; the semi-independent State of Bulgaria feared re-subjection to Turkey ; Russia was nervous about Constantinople ; Austria apprehended a Turkish recovery of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this tense atmosphere events moved with dramatic rapidity. Bulgaria declared herself completely independent, and Russia and Austria, suspicious of each other's designs in the Balkans, reached a secret agreement, Russia agreeing to Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Austria giving Russia a free-hand with regard to Constantinople and the Straits. Austria, however, without any notice or warning to Russia, promptly annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and created a diplomatic crisis in Europe (1908). Russia, unable to carry out her part of the secret programme, assumed a hostile attitude against Russia, and created a war-fever in Serbi

which now found its westward expansion towards the sea blocked by the Austrian annexation. In the end a firm attitude taken up by the German Emperor in support of Austria compelled Russia and Serbia to drop the idea of a war. The Bosnian Crisis was over (1909)

D. *The last phase (1912-14).*

An important outcome of the Crisis of 1908-9 was the birth of the Southern Slav idea. The Slavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) of the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to aspire after a separate political existence on a footing of equality with Austria and Hungary within the Empire, or, if that was not possible, a union with Serbia outside the Empire.

Serbia also, after 1908-9, was inspired by the ambition of creating a Southern Slav or Yugo-Slav Empire comprising not only the Slavs of the Balkans but also the Southern Slavs of the Habsburg Empire. And this Serbian ambition was fomented by the Pan-Slav movement in Russia. This movement had no definite programme : it simply wanted to stir up the Balkan Slavs and bring about a general conflagration in the Balkans so that Russia might exploit it to her advantage and acquire Constantinople and the Straits—the one concrete item in the Pan-Slav programme.

The Balkan Slavs, on their part, sank their mutual disputes and combined into a Balkan League (1912) in order to put pressure upon Turkey and share out among themselves the province of Macedonia which still belonged to her. But they had to wait for the favourable moment.

Turkey confronted a fresh danger. The difficulties of the young Turk Government were not merely the opportunities of the Balkan Slavs, of Austria and Russia, but also utilised by Italy in bringing about a war for the possession of Tripoli in

North Africa. This Turco-Italian War (1911-12) went against Turkey who concluded peace (Treaty of Lausanne) abruptly since she had to confront a fresh danger nearer home—the readiness of the Balkan League for a war with Turkey.

Hardly was the Italian war over when the Balkan League went into action and began the war (1912). This was a short, six weeks' war, and before the European Powers could agree among themselves and formulate a plan of action, the Balkan armies overran the Turkish possessions in Europe and Constantinople alone remained in Turkish hands. A conference of European Powers in London (1912) failing to satisfy the conflicting claims of the Balkan States on Turkish territory, an inter-State war began in which Bulgaria fought single-handed against her former allies and was defeated and compelled to make territorial cessions to the victors (Treaty of Bucharest, 1913).

Generally speaking, England and France had ceased to take much interest in the affairs of the Near East after the Berlin Settlement. Russia, however, maintained her claim on Constantinople and stood behind Serbia in her Yugo-Slav aspirations. But the active participants in the affairs of South-Eastern Europe and the Turkish Empire in Asia from the latter part of the 19th Century were Germany and Austria-Hungary. Germany obtained from Turkey the concession to extend her railway line from Berlin through Constantinople to Baghdad and also began to re-organise the Turkish army which had failed miserably in the Balkan Wars. In Austria-Hungary there was a growing opposition to the Serbian ambition of a Yugo-Slav Empire including the Southern Slavs of the Habsburg Empire. Destruction of Serbia became the object of the ruling circles in Vienna and Budapest. Germany was opposed to this move, but unable to restrain Austria. Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, tried a peaceful solution by admitting the Southern Slavs to equality of status with Hungary. This attempt led

to his assassination in Serajevo (1914) by some Austrian Serb subjects. Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia which the Serbian Government was unable to honour in its entirety. Hence the First World War broke out (Aug., 1914).

4. The Triple Entente and the Division of Europe into two armed camps.

The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, created by Bismarck kept France friendless till 1890. Bismarck retired in that year and the Re-insurance Treaty with Russia was not renewed by Germany. The way was thus cleared for a Franco-Russian approach. Negotiations began in 1891 ; a ceremonial visit of the French fleet to the Russian port of Kronstadt took place, followed by a visit of the Russian fleet to the French harbour of Toulon. An economic relationship between France and Russia also grew up. Russia now rapidly becoming an industrial nation, required foreign capital. Germany ceasing to help Russia, France came forward and began an investment of her huge surplus capital in Russia. A new type of French rifle also came to be imported into Russia. All this prepared the way for a military and political understanding between the two countries, and in 1894 the final agreement was reached. Thus was set up the secret Franco-Russian Dual Alliance which was defensive in character but mainly directed against the Triple Alliance.

England still remained unattached. She had colonial disputes with France and the fear of Russian advance towards the middle East and the Far East. France almost precipitated a crisis in 1898 when a French, Captain Marchand, crossed the Sahara with a French force, occupied Fashoda, then hoisted the French flag on Sudanese territory just after General Kitchener had completed the conquest of the Sudan. Russian advance towards Manchuria also was alarming. Hence England had to give up her policy of "splendid isolation" and she made her approaches to Germany, and Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial

Secretary, even proposed an alliance of the three Tutonic Powers, England, Germany and the United States. But the British proposals came to nothing. England at last obtained an ally, not in Europe but in Asia, and the Anglo-Japanese alliance was concluded in 1902.

The series of Russian defeats in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) weakened her militarily, and France, realising that the Franco-Russian alliance was no longer equal in strength to the Triple Alliance began a frantic attempt to come to an understanding with England The colonial disputes in Africa and Asia were resolved after a prolonged discussion, and an Anglo-French 'entente cordiale' was established in 1904, the most prominent feature of which was that Egypt should be an exclusively British and Morocco a French sphere of influence.

International complications arose as a result of this agreement. Fearing that it might endanger German commercial interests in Morocco, the German Emperor William II paid a visit to Tangier on the Moroccan coast, refused to recognise French predominant influence and finally compelled the Powers having financial interests in Morocco to place the issue before a European conference. This was the Moroccan or Tangier Crisis of 1905. A conference was held the next year at Algeciras in Spain, the result of which was a closer Anglo-French attachment. England and France even agreed to hold naval and military conversations so that if threatened by a common danger they might act in concert with the greatest rapidity in self-defence. This Anglo-French 'entente' remained a bond of friendship mainly without any definite treaty obligations or commitments.

France, having won the friendship of England, felt anxious to bring together England and Russia who were still suspicious of each other's designs and had outstanding disputes all over the East. The projects of constitutional reform in Russia after 1905 gradually created the belief in England that Russia

was going to have a constitutional liberal Government. Russia also was anxious to come to an agreement with England in respect of Constantinople, now that she had lost Port Arthur as a result of the war with Japan. Hence England and Russia settled their outstanding disputes regarding Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet (1907), and thus was completed the 'Triple Entente' which divided the Powers of Europe into two groups, maintaining a precarious balance till the outbreak of the Great War.

5. Colonial rivalries and Economic Imperialism.

(1) One of the most remarkable features of the latter part of the nineteenth century was the creation of vast European colonial empires beyond the seas. The major causes were socio-economic. The Industrial Revolution, occurring first in England, later spread to other European countries. The production of articles for export immensely multiplied and markets for raw materials and sale of manufactured goods became necessary. This requirement however, could be met by opening free, international markets all over the undeveloped world to which all industrialised Powers of Europe might have access. But the European population also immensely increased during the period due to agricultural improvement, production of more and better quality and variety of food and a development of the medical science which expanded the normal span of life and reduced the death-rate. This surplus population, again, began to overflow Europe and founded settlements all over the world, due to political persecution at home or the lure of gold or minerals, as in California, South Africa and Australia. Hence arose the idea of exclusive 'spheres of influence' or colonies superseding that of free, international markets. Colonialism of this type came naturally to be termed economic imperialism, since the prime urge behind the establishment of colonial empires was economic gain, i. e., collection of raw materials and the marketing of finished goods. Political rivalries in Europe had their counterparts in the

colonies abroad ; there were colonial rivalries and wars ; and these in their turn accelerated the forces leading to World War I.

(2) The leading Colonial Powers were Britain, France, Germany and Italy. Germany, though entering the field late, and therefore not satisfied with her colonial gains, created international colonial tensions. Russia never became a colonial Power, her expansion being mainly overland.

So long as Bismarck was in office, German colonial ambitions did not create international complications or wars. This is clearly shown in the manner in which the continent of Africa was parcelled out among the Colonial Powers by a conference held in Berlin (1884-5). Disputes arose afterwards over Egypt and Morocco which were settled by the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 ; a Franco-Italian tension developed over the possession of Tunis. Tunis became French and Italy obtained Tripoli (1911).

The United States also began her career as an imperialist Power in the latter part of the nineteenth century. There was a long-standing dispute with England over the boundary of Venezuela which was finally settled. There broke out a triangular contest between England, the United States and Germany over the Samoan Islands in South Pacific ; but it was ended by a treaty of 1899 by which England and the U. S. A. gave up their claims in return for compensations elsewhere. In a contest with Japan the U. S. obtained the Haiwaian Island and Guam. A war with Spain also broke out ; Spain was defeated and the U. S. A. came into possession of the Philippine Islands and Cuba.

(3) While tension among the other Powers in the colonial and commercial fields subsided, England and Germany became more and more unfriendly. German intervention in the South African (Boer) War against England (1899-1901) started this tension ; it was worsened by Anglo-German

disputes over the Baghdad Railway scheme stretching right up to the outbreak of war. But by far the most important feature of the growing Anglo-German tension was their rivalry over the question of trade and naval power. Germany, a fast developing industrial Power capturing the world market, became undoubtedly a serious rival of England who had so long dominated world trade. But this trade rivalry never became so serious as to generate an Anglo-German War. More serious was the growing naval rivalry of the two Powers since 1900. England did not fear a diminution of her world trade; but she was afraid of German naval superiority endangering the very defence of the British Isles. Hence a mad race began for naval construction involving immense expenditure on both sides. If England feared that Germany would be superior to her, or at any rate her equal in naval strength she was labouring under a misapprehension; since whatever thc cost she began to outbuild Germany within a few years. She also misunderstood the German motive. Kaiser William II never intended a naval war, nor threatened an invasion of England. The growing German fleet was a matter of pride, a purely German affair which was nobody else's concern, a matter of prestige and also an instrument with which Germay might strengthen her diplomatic position *vis a vis* the rival colonial Powers who had, as in the Moroccan affair of 1905, forced her to submit to superior naval strength. The tension, however, grew; and in 1912 the British Government sent a mission under Lord Haldane—the War Minister—to Germany to persuade the German Government to drop her scheme of further ship-building. The German Government was willing to come to terms if England concluded a treaty with Germany agreeing to remain neutral in the event of a Franco-German War. The British Government rejected this proposal, and the naval race went on, thereby embittering Anglo-German relations on the eve of the War.

6, The Peace Settlement (1919-20).

After the First World War the Paris Peace Conference met in January, 1919, consisting of delegates from the victorious Powers only. Clemenceau, the French Premier, presided, and the two other leading members were Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, whose famous Fourteen Points had been the basis of the Armistice of November 11, 1918. A series of Peace Treaties with the defeated Powers were concluded, the most important of which was the Treaty of Versailles with Germany.

(1) Germany suffered territorial losses on all sides, Alsace-Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, northern Schleswig to Denmark, Wcst Prussia and part of Silesia to Poland. Her colonial empire was taken away her and fleet and air force had to be surrendered, her conscript army was abolished, her armament industries were closed, and as she was judged "guilty" of bringing about the war a heavy amount of indemnity, called Reparations, was imposed upon her.

The other defeated Powers were also harshly dealt with. Austria and Hungary were separated and made independent republics and were prevented from unity. An Austro--German union was likewise prohibited. Austria lost Bohemia in the north, South Tyrol to Italy and Hungary lost Transylvania to Rumania. Bulgaria lost very little territory, but on all those were imposed Reparations, as on Germany. The Treaty of Sevres with Turkey was drawn up in 1920. But the nationalist movement in Turkey under Kamal Pasha led to a fresh spurt of war with England and France at the end of which Turkey succeeded in revising the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, retaining Constantinople and driving away the Greeks from Smyrna.

(2) One inportant result of the Peace Settlement was the creation of new states on the basis of the Wilsonian doctrine of national self-determination. Thus Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were created independent states along the

eastern Baltic Coast ; Poland was resurrected as an independent republic, a Czecho-Slovakian republic was created out of Bohemia and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes was constructed out of the Southern Slav regions.

The creation of a larger number of states than beforc the war was not an unmixed blessing. National states produced political and e onomic strains. Disputes over boundaries becamc chronic; political independence created a desire for economic self-sufficiency; tariff barriers blocked international trade ; the economically backward states, e g., Austria, Hungary and Baltic States suffered and came to depend on economic aid organised by the League of Nations. Hence Europe atfter the Peace Settlement, passed through a fresh phase of political and economic tension. The political tension was only partially eased by the Locarno Treaties (1925), but the economic consequences of the Peace worsened, leading to the World Trade Depression which in its turn produced unforeseen results—the growth of Dictatorships and finally World War II.

7. The League of Nations

By far the most significant achievement of the Paris Peace Conference was the creation of the League of Nations. President Wilson, while formulating his Fourteen Points, had pinned his hope of a lasting settlement after the War on a system of collective security. In the Peace Conference he made the creation of such a system his special task. The conference appointed a special Commission for the purpose under Wilson's chairmanship and this Commission drew up the Covenant of the League of Nations which became an inseparable part of every peace treaty. The new machinery went into action in January 1920. and all important problems after the War were taken up by the League. In truth, international relations between the two World Wars are a record of the achievements and failures of the League Nations.

(1) *Structure of the League*

The machinery of the League consisted of an Assembly, a Council and a Secretariat, with subsidiary organisations like the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), the International Court of Justice at the Hague, the Mandates Commission, the Minority Treaties Commission etc. The Assembly of the League, consisting of delegates from all member states, the Council—a small body—dominated by the Big Powers had almost concurrent jurisdiction. But the Council, meeting more frequently, usually took up matters of international dispute and acted as the executive of the League. In both the Assembly and the Council decisions, to be valid, had to be unanimous. The Secretariat became a vast and growing reservoir of information on all international issues and of all treaties and international records. The I.L.O.—a non-political organisation—functioned indenpendently of the Assembly and the Council, in all social and economic matters arising out of the War and the Peace. The Court of International Justice tendered judicial opinion on all legal aspects of international treaties and relations referred to it by the Assembly or the Council.

An important defect of the structure of the League was the non-inclusion of the defeated Powers. Germany entered as late as 1926 only to leave it in 1934. Russia became a member when Germany left, only to be expelled on the eve of the Second World War. Japan joined at the beginning but left in 1933 ; Italy also left in 1935. The United States was never a member. This shrinkage of an organisation which was intended to be world-wide was both the cause and the effect of growing international tension betweeu the two Wars, and the outbreak of World War II i939 registered the impotence of the Lsague to maintain world peace.

(2) Nonetheless the League achieved important results and solved important disputes. Some of these disputes were the Aaland Islands dispute between Sweden and Finland, the Silesian boundary dispute, boundary disputes in the Balkans, the Anglo-

Turkish dispute over the Mosul Oil fields in Iraq and boundary disdutes in South and Central America. Financial aid from the League also helped the bankrupt nations to stand on their legs. aud the way was prepared for important conferences dealing with problems of reparations, international trade, security and disarmament. The administration of mandated areas was properly supervised and some mandates obtained independence. The Hague Court gave important decisions on boundary disputes referred to it by the Assembly or the Council, and the I.L.O. had important contibutions to make to the economic, moral and social advancement of backward areas, particularly in the Middle East and Asia.

Even on political issues like security and disarmament the League made important achievements. One of these was the Locarno Pact of 1925. It consisted of a seris of arbitration treaties whereby France, Belgium and Poland on the one side and Germany on the other pledged themselves to refer their boundary disputes to arbitration, and England and Italy stood guarantors of the France-German and the Belgo-German frontiers as laid down by the Treaty of Versailles. The Pact came to be regarded as "marking the dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace." The post-war tensions in Europe, chiefly the Franco-German tension over the Alsace-Lorraine question and the general sense of insecurity died down, Germany was admitted the next year as a member of the League with a permanent seat in the Council, and under the able guidance of her chancellor, Gustov Stresemann, she entered upon an "age of fulfiment", carrying out the obligations, e.g., in the matter of reparations, imposed by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Locarno Pact in its turn, inspired another international move of a far wider range for the abolition of "war as an instrument of national policy". This was the Kellogg-Briand Pact or the Anti-War Pact of 1928. Signatories to this Pact, many of whom were not even members of the League, pledged

themselves not to declare war for aggressive purposes but to refer their disputes to arbitration. But since no adequate machinery was devised to deal with breaches of this Pact, it remained a pious wish merely, and wars of aggression misconstrued as defensive in character and without formal declaration came in quick succession and eventually landed the world in the Second Great War.

8. The problem of Disarmament

The major problem before the League of Nations was that of Disarmament. A general reduction of armaments had been advocated by President Wilson in his Fourteen Points, and this was incorporated into every peace treaty. When the Treaty of Versailles drastically cut down the German millitary power, the implicit promise was given to Germany that this would be folllowed by a general disarmament, The League of Nations then took up the matter and set up a Commission to prepare a draft for submission to the Council of the League.

(1) The difficulties of the problem at once came up to the surface. In the general sense of inseurity prevailing at that time, the view was that a solution of the problem of security must precede that of disarmament, and France was the exponent of this view. Although a victorious Power, France was mortally afraid of Germany and her fear was shared by the lesser Powers of Europe. She feared Germany's manpower which was likely to be double that of France if all German-speaking people combined ; she was also afraid of Germany's superior war-potential. Moreover, tho guarantee of assistance she had received from England and the United States in the Paris Peace Conference against German aggression by a tripartite treaty did not materialise since America retired into isolation and the British Government in the absence of American support, failed to carry out her share of the promise. Alone, and in constant fear of German revenge, France consistently sought to maintain her superiority in arms unless her security was guaranteed by the Powers.

Hence the question of security had to be tackled before that of disarmament. This was attempted by means of a comprehensive security pact by which the Council of the League was to determine the aggressor in the event of a breach of the peace, and the members of the pact were to act on the decision of the Council. But differences arose over the definition of "aggression", and the scheme fell through.

Next an attempt was made to ensure security by means of a general and compulsory arbitration treaty. A formula was devised (the Geneva Protocol of 1924), but the opposition of the Conservative Government in England put an end to this scheme also. A general arbitration formula failing, arbitration on a limited scale was adopted the next year when the Locarno Treaties were signed. This was an encouragement to further attempts at general disarmament, and the League appointed a Preparatory Commission in 1926 to prepare a draft agenda for the Disarmament Conference. Here again fresh difficulties cropped up and the Russian representative who was invited to attend made the startling proposal of a complete disarmament. Hence no agreement for the time being could be reached.

(2) In the meantime, noting the slow progress in a general disarmament scheme the Powers assembled to bring about naval disarmament—a relatively simple affair. The initiative was taken by the United States outside the League of Nations, and all Naval Powers were invited to a conference at Washington (1921). The question of capital ships was taken up and an agreement was reached. England and the United States were to have equality of tonnage ; other Powers, such as Japan, France and Italy were to have their quotas relatively reduced ; no fresh capital ships were to be built within the next ten years, and those which were under construction were to be scrapped.

Other categories like cruisers and submarines were discussed in subsequent naval conferences in Geneva (1927) and London (1930), and a good deal of heated negotiation yielded some results in the form of relative quotas. The Washington agree-

ment on capital ships expiring, the London Conference extended it till 1936. But the navies, inspite of agreements, were still maintained on a war level, and there was hardly any substantial reduction. Moreover, the agreement on capital ships finally expircd in 1936, Japan seized this opportunity and began a programme of huge naval construction. England and America followed, and thus a naval race once more began.

(3) The question of general disarmament, suspended in 1926 was revived in 1932 and the Disamament Conference met in that year in Geneva under the chairmanship of Arthur Henderson, a British Labour leader. But the Conference asssembled too late. The world situation, both economic and political, had in the meantime greatly worsened. The Great Trade Depression which began in 1928-29 hit all nations hard. In consequence, dictatorship was in the ascendant in Germany, Italy and Japan. In 1931 Japan began a wanton attack on Manchuria which started a chain of aggressive wars culminating in the Second Wold War. In this tense situation discussion on disarmament lost all value. The fear of war was abroad, and no Power was willing to cut down its armament. Germany was no longer satisfled with her status of inferiority and demanded equality with France. France, on the other hand, was adamant on superiority to Germany in armaments. England tred in vain to mediate beween France and Germany Hitler came to power in 1933 and finding that the Conference was making no progress withdrew from it and began re-armament of Germany on a colossal scale (1935). The Conference broke up. England blamed France for the failure ; and Germany by her rearmament programme made the first open breach iu the Treaty of Versailles. The Second World War was now only a question of time.

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ভিয়েনা ব্যবস্থা।

নেপোলিওন ইউরোপের রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থায় যে সব পরিবর্ত্তন এনেছিলেন বিজেতাশক্তি তাঁর পরাজয়ের পর এর রদবদলের চেষ্টা করবেন তা স্বাভাবিক। নেপোলিওনের অভ্যুদয়ের আগেই বিপ্লবী ফরাসী জাতির সঙ্গে অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রের সঙ্ঘর্ষ সুরু হয়েছিল। বিজেতা পক্ষ যে নেপোলিওনের সাম্রাজ্য লিপ্সাকে বাধা দিতে গিয়ে যুদ্ধে জড়িয়ে পড়েছিলেন, তা নয়। বৈপ্লবিক আদর্শের সঙ্গে তাদের বিরোধ স্বাভাবিক ও মূলগত। জাতিগত স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্রের নীতি (National State) বিজেতা রাজাদের কাছে গ্রহণ যোগ্য ছিল না। তাদের নিজেদের রাজ্য অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই সাম্রাজ্যের মত ছিল। রাজবংশের স্বার্থের তাগিদে এ সকল সাম্রাজ্য গড়ে উঠেছিল। রাজবংশের স্বার্থ ও দেশের স্বার্থের মধ্যে বহুলাংশে মিল থাকলেও যেখানে এ দুই পরিপন্থী হত সেখানে দেশের স্বার্থ বিসর্জন দেওয়া হত। রাজ্যের ভিতরে একাধিক জাতি ছিল যাদের কোন রাষ্ট্রীয় অধিকার বা মর্যাদা স্বীকৃত ছিল না। আঞ্চলিক ভিত্তিতে এই রকম কোন কোন জাতি সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠও ছিল, কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও এরা কোন স্বীকৃতি পায় নি। ফরাসী বিপ্লবের গণতান্ত্রিক আদর্শ রাজশক্তির ভিত্তির পরিপন্থী ছিল এ বলা বাহুল্য।

ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীর ইউরোপের ইতিহাসে মূল সূত্র দুটি—জাতীয় রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠার চেষ্টা ও জনসাধারণের রাষ্ট্রীয় অধিকার স্থাপনের চেষ্টা।

১৮১৫ খৃষ্টাব্দের ইউরোপে রাজবংশীয় স্বার্থই বৃহত্তম শক্তি। এর আগের পঁচিশ বছরের রাজনৈতিক ভাঙ্গাগড়ার প্রতিক্রিয়া হিসাবে "ন্যায় সঙ্গত" শাসকদের পুনঃ প্রতিষ্ঠিত করা (Legitimacy) ভিয়েনা সম্মেলনের একটা বিঘোষিত নীতি। কিন্তু বিজেতারা নিজ নিজ

রাজবংশের সাম্রাজ্য বিস্তার বা প্রভাব প্রতিপত্তি বাড়ানর সুযোগ ছাড়তেও প্রস্তুত ছিলেন না। কাজেই ভিয়েনা ব্যবস্থায় সর্বত্র এই নীতি পালিত হয় নি। আর অনেক ক্ষেত্রে ইচ্ছা করলেও প্রাক্-নেপোলিওনীয় রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থার পুনঃ প্রবর্তন সম্ভব ছিল না, যেমন পশ্চিম জার্ম্মান অঞ্চলে। ফরাসী দেশে ও পার্শ্ববর্ত্তী জার্ম্মান এলাকায় সমাজ ব্যবস্থার ক্ষেত্রে বিপ্লবের প্রভাবে বা নেপোলিওনের হাতে যে সব সংস্কার সাধিত হয়েছিল, তার অবলুপ্তি বিজেতাদের পক্ষে সম্ভব ছিল না। সাধারণভাবে এই সকল সংস্কারকে এক সঙ্গে বলা যায় ফিউডাল প্রথার বিলোপ। ভূমি, রাজস্বনীতির পরিবর্ত্তন, জমীদার ও যাজক সম্প্রদায়ের ভূমি সংক্রান্ত অধিকার লোপ, নিয়মতান্ত্রিক বিচার ব্যবস্থা স্থাপন, এ সব তার অঙ্গ। ফিউডাল প্রথার উচ্ছেদ সাধনের চেষ্টা ইউরোপের ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীর ইতিহাসের অপর এক মূল সূত্র। মোটামুটি প্রত্যেক রাজবংশই সংস্কার ও পরিবর্ত্তনকে ঠেকিয়ে রাখতে সচেষ্ট ছিলেন, আর ১৮৪৮ সালের বিপ্লবেব জোয়ার আসা পর্য্যন্ত রক্ষণশীল দলের সজাগ রক্ষী ছিলেন অষ্ট্রিয়ার প্রধান মন্ত্রী মেটারনিক।

ইউরোপীয় রাষ্ট্র সংহতি (Concert of Europe).

ভিয়েনার নেতৃশক্তিরা একটা নূতন প্রথা প্রবর্তনের চেষ্টা করেছিলেন—আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যার কর্তব্য নির্ধারনের জন্য তারা মাঝে মাঝে মিলিত হবেন। এতে একশ বছর পরেকার জাতি সঙ্ঘের (League) আভাষ রয়েছে। তবে জাতিসঙ্ঘের সঙ্গে পার্থক্যও বহু ছিল। নিজেদের মধ্যে স্বার্থের সঙ্ঘাতের জন্য ব্যর্থ হয়।

১৮৪৮ সালের বিপ্লব।

এই বিপ্লবের সূত্রপাত্র ফরাসী দেশে। তারপর ইউরোপের সব দেশেই প্রায় বিপ্লব দেখা দেয়। প্রত্যেক দেশে বিপ্লবের লক্ষ্য ও গতি বিভিন্ন ছিল।

ফরাসী দেশের নিয়মতান্ত্রিক রাজতন্ত্রের (১৮৩০-১৮৪৮) আমলে রাজনৈতিক ক্ষমতা অর্থশালী সম্প্রদায়ের হাতেই ছিল। এই সময়ে ফরাসী দেশেও ইংলণ্ডের "শিল্প বিপ্লবের" প্রভাবে কলকারখানা স্থাপিত হতে থাকে। এর ফলে প্যারিস সহরে একটা শ্রমিক সম্প্রদায়ের সৃষ্টি হয়। এই সম্প্রদায় অতীতের নিম্নশ্রেণীর লোকেব মত রাজনৈতিক উচ্চাকাঙ্খাবর্জিত ছিল না। ফরাসী দেশে বিপ্লবের আরম্ভ থেকেই তুটি দল ছিল। একদিকে মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী, যারা নিয়মতান্ত্রিক শাসন প্রথার প্রসারের বেশী আর কিছু চাইছিল না। অন্যদিকে শ্রমিক শ্রেণী যারা একটা সামাজিক পুনর্গঠনও আশা করছিল। এই দ্বিতীয় শ্রেণীর সমর্থকরা প্যারিসেই সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল। কাজেই যখন সমস্ত দেশ থেকে প্রতিনিধি নির্ব্বাচিত হয়ে জাতীয় পরিষদ গঠিত হয়, তখন সংখ্যাল্প বিপ্লবী শ্রমিকদের সঙ্গে বাকী সমস্ত দেশের প্রভেদ সুস্পষ্ট হয়ে দেখা দেয়। এই অন্তর্দ্বন্দ্বের সুযোগে নেপোলিয়নের ভ্রাতুষ্পুত্র লুই নেপোলিয়ন নিজেকে ফ্রান্সের শাসকরূপে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করেন। ফ্রান্সের ১৮৪৮ এর বিপ্লবেই প্রথম শ্রমিক শ্রেণী একটা ভিন্ন ধরণের রাজনৈতিক মতবাদ নিয়ে ইউরোপের ঐতিহাসিক মঞ্চভূমিতে আত্মপ্রকাশ করে।

জার্ম্মান অঞ্চলে বিপ্লবীদের প্রধান লক্ষ্য ছিল জাতীয় ঐক্য প্রতিষ্ঠা করা। বিপ্লবীরা "লিবারেল" পন্থী ছিলেন। তাদের বিশ্বাস ছিল যে এই ঐক্যের সহায়ক হবে "লিবারেল" প্রতিষ্ঠান সকল। যেমন নিয়মতান্ত্রিক সংবিধান, নির্বাচিত সরকার। এই রকম প্রতিষ্ঠান রাজশক্তি ও সামরিক সম্প্রদায়ের পরিপন্থী। কাজেই লিবারেল পন্থী ঐক্য আন্দোলনের স্বাভাবিক শত্রু হলেন রাজবংশ ও সামরিক সম্প্রদায়। লিবারেল দলে ছিলেন অধ্যাপক, ব্যবহারজীবী প্রভৃতি বৃত্তির লোক। জার্ম্মান জাতির মধ্যে এদের সংখ্যা এবং প্রভাব তুইই কম ছিল। এদের প্রশাসনিক অভিজ্ঞতা কিছুই ছিল না এবং রাজনৈতিক চিন্তাও অপরিণত ছিল। প্রথম ধাক্কায় জাতীয় ঐক্যের নামে বিভিন্ন জার্ম্মান রাষ্ট্রবিপ্লব

পন্থীরা জয়ী হলেন। ফ্রাঙ্কফুর্ট শহরে সমস্ত জার্মান অঞ্চল থেকে নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিগণ সমবেত হন ভাবী সম্মিলিত জার্মান রাষ্ট্রের সংবিধান রচনা করতে। জাতীয় ঐক্যের পথে প্রধান বাধা ছিল অষ্ট্রিয়া ও প্রাশিয়ার রাজবংশের প্রাধান্যের প্রশ্ন সমাধান করা। ফ্রাঙ্কফুর্টের প্রতিনিধিগণ দীর্ঘদিন আলোচনায় রত ছিলেন। ইতিমধ্যে অষ্ট্রীয়ার রাজবংশ ইতালিতে ও হাঙ্গারিতে সামরিক শক্তির সাহায্যে বিপ্লব দমন করে ফেলেন। এতে অন্যান্য রাজাদের মনে সাহস ফিরে আসে। তারা সামরিক শক্তি কখনই হাত ছাড়া করেন নি। তার ধমকের জোরেই তাদের শক্তি পুনঃ প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়। অষ্ট্রিয়া জার্মানীর জন্য ভিয়েনা কংগ্রেসের যে সংবিধান রচিত হয়েছিল তাই আবার চালু করে। তার নেতৃত্ব প্রাশিয়াও মেনে নেয়। লিবারেল পন্থায় জাতীয় ঐক্য স্থাপনের আন্দোলন ব্যর্থ হয়ে যায়।

অষ্ট্রিয়া সাম্রাজ্যেও প্রথম দিকে বিপ্লব খুব সফল হয়। রাজধানী ভিয়েনাতে লিবারেল পন্থীদের আন্দোলনের ফলে রক্ষণশীল মতবাদের নেতা প্রধান মন্ত্রী মেটারনিকের পতন ঘটে। জাতীয় সংবিধান রচনার জন্য ফ্রাঙ্কফুর্টে প্রতিনিধি পাঠান হয়। চেক অঞ্চলে স্বায়ত্ত শাসনের জন্য আন্দোলন হয়। হাঙ্গারিতে ম্যাগিয়ার জাতি নিজস্ব সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠা করে। জাতীয় মুক্তি আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে নিয়মতান্ত্রিক শাসন প্রবর্তনের আন্দোলনও যুক্ত ছিল। অষ্ট্রিয়ার সঙ্গে হাঙ্গারির নূতন সরকারের যুদ্ধ বাঁধে। রাশিয়ার সামরিক সাহায্য নিয়ে অষ্ট্রিয়া জয়ী হয়। এই সামরিক জয়ের পর মধ্য ইউরোপের বিপ্লবের শেষ হয়ে যায়। রাজবংশগুলি আত্মসম্বিত ফিরে পেয়ে বিপ্লবীদের উপর কঠোর ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করে।

ইটালিতে বিপ্লবের প্রধান লক্ষ্য ছিল জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা অর্জন। আর এর সঙ্গে জড়িত ছিল নিয়মতান্ত্রিক শাসন প্রবর্তনের প্রচেষ্টা। বিপ্লবের প্রথম ধাক্কায় কোন কোন বিদেশী শাসক পালিয়ে যান।

পিডমন্ট-সার্ডিনিয়ার রাজা ইটালির জাতীয় নেতার অংশ নিয়ে অষ্ট্রিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করেন। অষ্ট্রিয়ার দখলে উত্তর ইটালি ছিল। যুদ্ধে শেষ পর্যন্ত অষ্ট্রিয়ার জয় হয়। এর ফলে ইটালিতে বিপ্লবের পূর্বে যে ব্যবস্থা ছিল তাই পুনঃপ্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়।

ইংলণ্ডে চার্টিষ্ট দলের বিপ্লব ঘটাবার প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয়।

জাতীয় রাষ্ট্র স্থাপন।

জার্ম্মানী ও ইটালি ঐক্য সাধনকে জাতীয় রাষ্ট্র গঠনের প্রচেষ্টায় দুই সার্থক দৃষ্টান্ত স্বরূপ বলা হয়। এই দুই দেশের আন্দোলন বাহ্যতঃ এক চরিত্রের। বিশ্লেষণ করলে অনেক পার্থক্য ধরা পড়ে। যে কটা ক্ষুদ্র রাজ্যে ইটালি বিভক্ত ছিল তাদের শাসকরা কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে বিদেশী ছিলেন। শক্তিমান অষ্ট্রিয়ার সাম্রাজ্যও ইটালি বিস্তৃত ছিল। জার্মাণীতে বৈদেশিক অধিকার কিছু ছিল না। ইটালীয়দের কাছে জাতীয় ঐক্যসাধন ও জাতীয় মুক্তি অর্জন, এই দুই লক্ষ্যে বিভেদ বিশেষ ছিল না। জার্মানীতে জাতীয় মুক্তির প্রশ্ন কিছু ছিল না। দুই দেশেই জাতীয় ঐক্যের আদর্শের শত্রু ছিল ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রাজবংশের স্বার্থ। ইটালীয় যে যে অঞ্চলে বৈদেশিক শাসন ছিল সেখানে ঐক্য আন্দোলন জনসাধারণের পূর্ণ সমর্থন পেয়েছিল। আর দেশীয় রাজবংশের নেতৃ-স্থানীয়, পিডমন্ট-সার্ডিনিয়ার রাজা, ও সে রাজ্যের প্রধান মন্ত্রী, পুরোপুরিভাবে ঐক্য আন্দোলনের নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেছিলেন। ইটালির ঐক্য আন্দোলন জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতার জন্যে একটা জাতীয় চরিত্র গ্রহণ করেছিল। ঐক্য আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে ইটালি আর জার্মানী দুই দেশেই নিয়মতান্ত্রিক শাসন প্রণালী প্রবর্তনের চেষ্টার আন্দোলনও ছিল। এ আন্দোলনও রাজশক্তির পরিপন্থী। ইটালিতে যে যে ক্ষেত্রে রাজা বিদেশী, সে সব ক্ষেত্রে এই আন্দোলন ও ঐক্য আন্দোলনে কোন বিরোধ ছিল না। আর নেতৃস্থানীয় দেশীয় রাজবংশ এই আন্দোলনের সমর্থক

হয়ে দাঁড়ানতে ঐক্য স্থাপনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে নিয়মতান্ত্রিক শাসনের কাঠামোও প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়। জার্মানীর সঙ্গে ইটালির এই ক্ষেত্রেও গভীর পার্থক্য ছিল। জার্ম্মান ঐক্যের স্রষ্টা বিসমার্ক ১৮৪৮ সালের বিপ্লবের ব্যর্থতা থেকে কয়েকটা সিদ্ধান্ত স্থির করে নিয়েছিলেন—যথা, নিয়মতান্ত্রিকপন্থী জাতীয় আন্দোলন মেরুদণ্ডবিহীন, সুযোগমত সামরিক শক্তি ব্যবহার করতে পারলে রাজশক্তির জয় নিশ্চিত, আর একই রাষ্ট্রের পরিধিতে অষ্ট্রিয়া ও প্রাশিয়াকে স্থান দেওয়া অসম্ভব। ১৮৪৮ এর বিপ্লব ব্যর্থ হওয়ার ফলে ঐক্য আন্দোলন ও নিয়মতান্ত্রিক আন্দোলন, দুইই মর্যাদা হারায়। বিসমার্ক তাঁর শ্রেণীর স্বার্থ ও তাঁর রাষ্ট্রের স্বার্থকেই বড় করে দেখেছিলেন, জার্মান জাতির ঐক্য তাঁর কাছে গৌণ উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। সামরিক শক্তিকেই তিনি সর্বোচ্চ শক্তি বলে জানতেন, এবং তারই সাহায্যে তিনি অভীষ্ট সিদ্ধ করেন। জার্মানভাষী অষ্ট্রিয়াকে বাদ দিয়ে গড়া রাষ্ট্র জাতীয়তাবাদীদের কাছে পূর্ণ সাফল্য বলে গণ্য হতে পারে না। কিন্তু অষ্ট্রিয়াকে জার্ম্মান জাতিসঙ্ঘ থেকে বের করে দেওয়া প্রাশিয়ার কাছে একটা কষ্টলব্ধ কৃতিত্ব। জার্মানীর ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রাজবংশের উচ্ছেদ সাধন বিসমার্ক লক্ষ্য হিসাবে রাখেন নি। কাজেই জার্মানী একটি সংযুক্ত রাষ্ট্রের (Federation) রূপ নেয়। ইটালিতে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র লুপ্ত হয়ে একক রাষ্ট্র (Unitary State) গড়ে উঠে।

ইটালি বা জার্মানী কোন দেশেই ঐক্য বিনা রক্তপাতে গড়ে ওঠে নি। তবে ঐক্য সাধনের উদ্দেশ্যে দুই দেশে যে যুদ্ধ হয়েছিল তার গতি ও প্রকৃতি আলাদা। যুদ্ধের প্রস্তুতিতে কূটনৈতিক আলোচনা, গোপন দল গঠন, এবং শত্রুকে অপর শক্তি থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দেওয়া, দুই ক্ষেত্রেই প্রয়োজন বিবেচিত হয়েছিল। কূটনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে কাভুর ও বিসমার্কের প্রতিভা ভিন্ন ধর্মী ছিল। নিজ নিজ লক্ষ্য সিদ্ধির সহায়তায় উভয়েই পার্শ্ববর্তী রাষ্ট্রকে ব্যবহার করেছেন, তবে ভিন্ন রীতির সাহায্যে।

এই শতাব্দীতে ইউরোপের অন্যান্য জাতির মধ্যে বেলজিয়াম জাতীয় রাষ্ট্র পায়। হাঙ্গারি আত্মকর্তৃত্ব লাভ করে। তুরস্কের শাসনভুক্ত অনেক জাতি বিভিন্ন পর্বে স্বাধীন হয়। আর অস্ট্রিয়া-হাঙ্গারির সাম্রাজ্যভুক্ত ও রুশ সাম্রাজ্যভুক্ত জাতিদের স্বাধীনতা প্রথম মহাযুদ্ধের শেষে আসে।

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